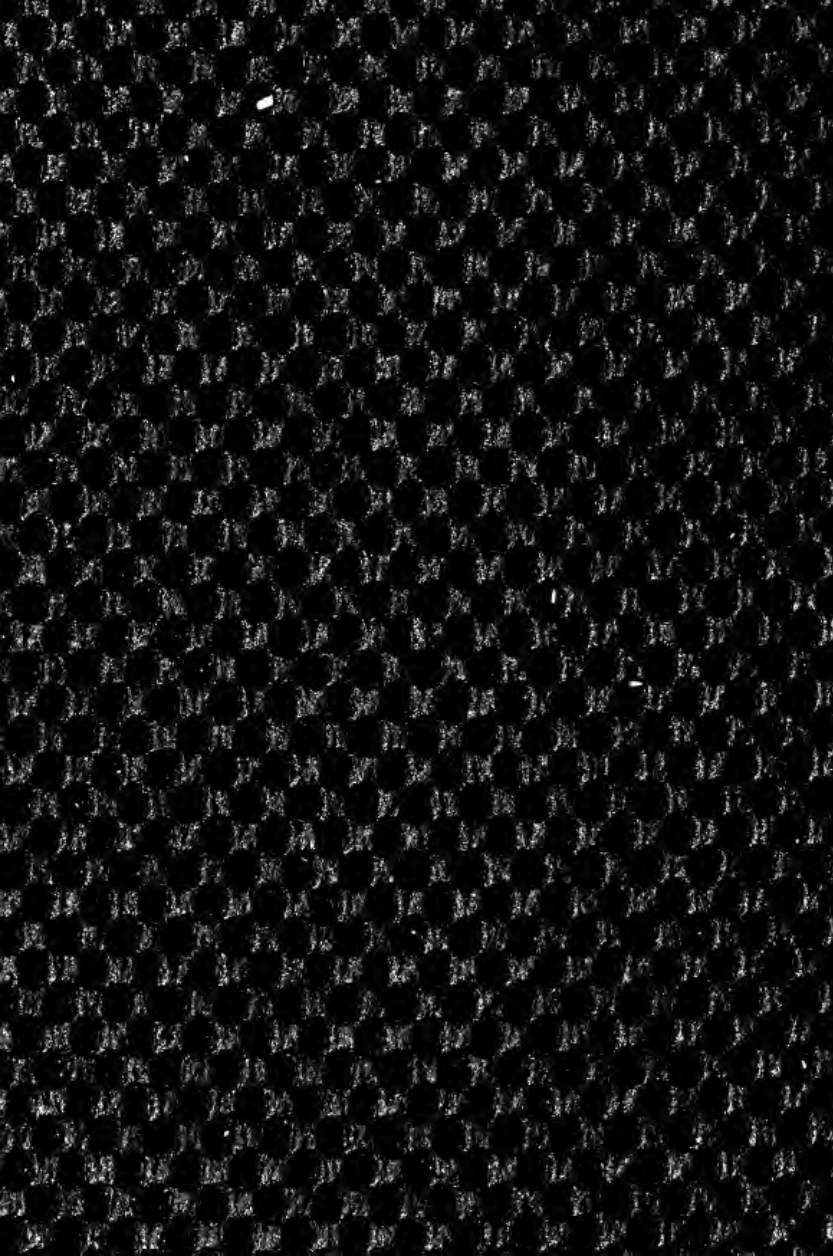


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LETTER OF BELLAMY STORER
TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE
MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET,
NOVEMBER, 1906.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND
THE MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET:

On March 20, 1906, I received by cable a telegram from the State Department, saying that I was removed from my office as Ambassador of the United States to Austria-Hungary. This telegram was received by me while ill in Egypt, on leave of absence, granted by the State Department, and it disclosed no reasons for the action taken. When I could conveniently address the Department, I wrote to ask for what reason I had been removed, and I received a reply, written by the Assistant Secretary of State, by direction, as he stated, of the President, to the effect that I was removed because I had failed to answer two letters and a telegram sent to me by the President.

My removal in so summary a manner has suddenly dismissed me from an office which I had been given reason to believe I had filled to the satisfaction both of my own government and of that to which I was accredited, and, being accompanied by no public explanation, it has exposed me to suspicions and injurious conjectures, such as must naturally arise when a man in public office is abruptly dismissed by his government with what is obviously intended to be discredit.

In this situation I think it right to make a full statement which will enable impartial persons to pass a candid judgment on my official conduct, and this statement I submit to the President and the members of his Cabinet.

It would be plainly impossible for me to discuss the charge that I have left unanswered letters which I should have answered, without going into the contents of the

letters referred to so far as to explain my action, and this will involve some history of matters which preceded those letters and without which they cannot be understood. Those matters may seem to be largely private and personal to me and to the President, and I, on my part, have certainly so regarded them, and I am reluctant, for that reason, to go into them even now. But it will appear that personal and official matters have been inextricably confused (though not by me) and I certainly cannot be expected to refrain now from discussing anything on the ground that it is private and personal, if this very thing has been treated as official by the government in passing upon my conduct in office. I must insist, therefore, that it is not I who am responsible for a situation in which some narrative of personal matters, distasteful as it is, is now forced upon me. I certainly shall not go into those things further than seems necessary. I may premise that both Mrs. Storer and I were on terms of close, and, as we believed, affectionate personal intimacy with Mr. Roosevelt, and for more than ten years have been in the habit of exchanging with him frequently letters written on both sides with the greatest unreserve on both private and public matters. Without this explanation the situation cannot be understood. I do not intend, however, to use Mr. Roosevelt's letters, which are numerous, except so far as they bear upon the subject which I am now forced to discuss, though they are open to the fullest inspection if the President so desires.

In 1897 I was appointed by President McKinley to be Minister to Belgium, and in April, 1899, to be Minister to Spain. Perhaps I may be allowed to add, as bearing on

the treatment that I was entitled to expect at subsequent stages of my diplomatic service, that my work in Madrid, coming as it did at the end of our war with Spain, and including the negotiation of a new treaty, was arduous and responsible, and was so performed as to draw out emphatic commendation from President McKinley and Mr. Hay.*

The letters which I am charged with improperly leaving unanswered referred to acts alleged to have been done by me, or rather by my wife, in connection with the Roman Catholic Church, of which we are both members. Before discussing those letters in detail I will mention matters in the same connection which preceded and led up to the letters.

After the close of the Spanish war our government found itself brought into new relations with Rome by reason of its possession of the Philippine Islands with their large Roman Catholic population, and especially on account of the negotiations which were to be undertaken with the Vatican respecting the Friar's lands, and the administration acquired a new and definite interest in the selection by the Vatican of men who should hold influential positions in the Church, all of which was brought to my notice by President McKinley and members of his Cabinet. Long before my appointment to Brussels Arch-

* I venture to quote in this connection from a letter written to me by Secretary Hay on December 26, 1901, referring to my work at Madrid as follows:—

“Of course it would be needless for me to say anything in regard to the very high appreciation I have of your ability and work. I can think of no one who could adequately replace you, and of course it would be impertinent in the case of such close friends as yourself and the President for me to tell you how highly he values you. . . .

Very sincerely yours,
JOHN HAY.”

bishop Ireland had been a friend of mine and also of Mr. Roosevelt's, who often expressed to me his great admiration for him and his sympathy with the Archbishop's efforts to act in his ecclesiastical office so as to meet the highest demands of American citizenship. The possibility that the Archbishop might be made a Cardinal greatly interested me, and his appointment seemed to me to promise great benefit, both to the Church and to our country at home and especially in the Philippines, by putting the purposes and policy of the Church openly on the high plane of American patriotism which the Archbishop publicly and definitely advocated. Mr. Roosevelt held the same opinion and strongly desired the appointment, as his correspondence abundantly shows, though, of course, from the position of a Protestant. In March, 1899, I wrote and cabled to Mr. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, about promoting the appointment of the Archbishop by such means as would make known at Rome the high opinion held of him in America, and Mr. Roosevelt exerted himself to that end, and applied to President McKinley to use his influence also. On March 23, 1899, Mr. Roosevelt wrote to me a letter from which I quote as follows : —

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

ALBANY, March 23, 1899.

My dear BELLAMY I have yours of the 11th inst. Immediately on receipt of your second cable I wrote the President and I have also submitted to him your cables. I absolutely agree with you as to Archbishop Ireland. You know the truth about this so-called recantation of his about Americanism much better than I do. It seems to me that, from every stand-

point of sound public policy it will be a fortunate thing if we can have him made a cardinal, especially in view of what must occur in the Philippines. Remember you have to largely guide me in matters of this kind, and write me always and fully. . . .

Always yours
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

On March 17, 1899, Mrs. Storer wrote to Mr. Roosevelt asking him to send a telegram which could be used to promote the Archbishop's appointment, and to this he replied on March 27, 1899, in a letter which I give in full:

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, March 27, 1899.

My dear Mrs. STORER, I have your letter of the 17th inst. The only reason I do not send you that cable is that I do not see quite where it would end if I began to interfere directly in the election of a cardinal.

If I make a request or express desire in such form as to make them seem like requests, I inevitably put myself under certain obligations and I do not quite know what these obligations are. I have written to the President stating my belief that it would be a most fortunate thing for this Country—and, I believe, an especially fortunate thing for the Catholics of this Country—if Archbishop Ireland could be made a cardinal.

I feel this precisely because of what may be done in the Philippines and in other tropic colonies. I am strongly of the opinion that the uplifting of the people in these tropic islands must come chiefly through making them better Catholics and better citizens; and, that on the one hand we shall have to guard against the reactionary Catholics who would oppose the correction of abuses in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the

Islands, — and, on the other hand, guard against protestant fanaticism which will give trouble anyhow, and which may be fanned into a dangerous flame if the above-mentioned Catholic reactionaries are put into control. On every account, I should feel that the election of Archbishop Ireland to the Cardinalate would be a most fortunate thing for us in the United States — Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

While I would not like to have this letter published, you are most welcome to show it to anyone you see fit.

With many regards to Bellamy,

Always yours

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

A second letter of the same tenor was written by Mr. Roosevelt to Mrs. Storer on April 30, 1900, which I also give in full :

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, April 30, 1900.

Mrs. BELLAMY STORER,
U.S. Legation,
Madrid, Spain.

My dear Mrs. Storer, I have just received your letter. I need not say what a pleasure it would be for me to do anything I can for Archbishop Ireland. You know how high a regard I have always felt for him; he represents the type of Catholicism which, in my opinion, must prevail in the United States if the Catholic Church is to attain its full measure of power and usefulness with our people and under our form of government.

I absolutely agree with what Judge Taft says in his letter to you of March 20th, in relation to that part of this problem which affects the Philippines. But the problem as a whole affects the United States as a whole; a reactionary or in any way anti-American

spirit in ecclesiastical affairs would in America, in the long run, result in disaster just as certainly as a similar course in political affairs. I may add that the bigoted opponents of Catholicism are those who are most anxious to see the triumph within the ranks of Catholicism of this reactionary spirit, and the throwing out of men who have shown a broad liberalism and Americanism in policy.

Of course, I feel that I am not justified in interfering in any way, directly or indirectly, with matters at the Vatican, but it is only fair, in response to your letter, that I should write you fully and frankly of my great appreciation of Archbishop Ireland, and of my firm conviction that the real future of the Catholic Church in America rests with those who, in the main, work along his lines. You may be interested to know of the large percentage of Catholics, without exception men standing as high in capacity as in integrity, whom I have placed upon the various important commissions in this State.

So much for the part of my letter that is in direct answer to the main part of yours; I do not know whether it will be of any assistance or not, but I hope so. I need not tell you that it is a pleasure to write it, or to do anything else that you desire me to do, if in my power.

You must have a very hard time at Madrid and I earnestly hope that the signal devotion to the good of the Country which you and Bellamy have shown, will result in its proper reward, and in your being transferred in the not distant future to Rome, or better still, to Paris.

Here I am occupied in trying not to be made vice-presidential candidate. I prefer to try for the Governorship again; whether I will be beaten or not I cannot tell. I suppose I should certainly be beaten if it were not a presidential year; but this year there is a good chance of carrying the Governorship too; whether it is more than an even chance I should be afraid to say.

Edith had a lovely three weeks' trip to Cuba. It did her good to be away from the children, the house and myself, and she came back looking just like a girl. Young McIlhenny, the Louisiana planter who was a lieutenant in my regiment, went with her, and also her sister. Wood, of course, did everything he could for them, sent them around on transports and had them stay at the palace with him. In Santiago they went over all our line of march as well as the battlefield—or skirmish ground, whichever you choose to call it. The children are all in fine spirits.

With love to Bellamy,
Always faithfully yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

The two foregoing letters from Mr. Roosevelt were intended, as appears on their face, to be used in promoting the appointment, and they were so used by me and Mrs. Storer, and the portions referring to that subject were quoted to other persons in our discretion, though not published. I have given them here because they are the only letters from Mr. Roosevelt which I or Mrs. Storer ever so used, and have given them in full because it has been charged by the President that "isolated sentences" of his letters have been used to misrepresent him. No letters on that subject have been written to either of us by Mr. Roosevelt while President.

President McKinley heartily furthered the efforts made by Mr. Roosevelt, myself, and others to promote the appointment of Archbishop Ireland, and in the spring of 1899 he commissioned Bishop O'Gorman to say to the Pope that "that appointment would be considered a personal favor to him, the President, as well as an honor to the country," and this the Bishop did, speaking in the Presi-

dent's name in a personal audience with the Pope. My particular authority for this statement of a matter not known to me personally is a letter written to me by Bishop O'Gorman from Paris on June 19, 1899, from which I have quoted literally the writer's language.

Besides the letter from Judge Taft which the President referred to, Mrs. Storer received many other letters from the former concerning the situation of Church affairs in the Philippines. I mention this only to show, what is the fact, that Mrs. Storer and I were regarded by members of the government as available for use in Church matters, and that we were so used. There can be, I think, no impropriety in my making an extract from one of Judge Taft's letters, to show that I am justified in saying that Archbishop Ireland's appointment to the office of Cardinal was definitely desired by the government:

"MANILA, P.I. May 19, '01.

My dear Mrs. STORER — I have your three letters, one of March 21st, another of March 29th and the third of April 2nd, all of which I have read with great interest.

I share with you your profound disappointment that Archbishop Ireland was not appointed Cardinal. The position which Archbishop Ireland occupies in the United States is unique. I think he has more influence with the people, both of his own church and of other churches and the people at large than any other prelate that I have ever known of in the United States. He is regarded as truly catholic, in the usual sense of that word, and it is thought that he has solved the difficulty which sometimes presents itself to the non-catholic mind, of complete loyalty both to the Church and to the country. The high esteem in which he is held by President McKinley and by all the prominent

men in the Government cannot be exaggerated. I am sure that nothing would so tend to ameliorate the unjustifiable but still existent prejudice against the Catholic Church in some quarters of our country as the recognition by the Vatican of the merits of Archbishop Ireland by giving him a Cardinalate. I cannot say to you how regretful I have often been that we did not have Archbishop Ireland in these Islands to assist in the work of pacification. He would have had an opportunity which he would have eagerly seized to convince the people here that we were not an anti-catholic government determined to thwart the purposes of the Church but that we were simply a government willing to give every church an opportunity to bring to the people the comforts of religion and to elevate their religious and moral life. . . .

Sincerely yours
WM. H. TAFT."

In the autumn of 1900 I had a private audience with Pope Leo XIII, and took that occasion, speaking, of course, wholly as a private citizen, to put before him the purposes and policy of our government in the Philippines; and I gave to the public press an interview in which I reported the very satisfactory position which the Pope took in the matter. This action of mine was expressly approved by President McKinley, who, on October 20, 1900, expressed to Archbishop Ireland his great gratification that I had seen the Pope and published the interview, all of which Archbishop Ireland communicated to me in letters written immediately after his conversation with the President.

Mr. Roosevelt, shortly after his election to the Vice-Presidency, showed apprehension lest he should be thought by the Protestant public to be in relations with the

Roman Catholic Church, and a fear that he might be compromised by the letters above referred to which he had written before his election, expressing his friendship for Archbishop Ireland. He wrote two letters to Mrs. Storer, which I give in full :

“EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, Nov. 23rd, 1900.

Mrs. BELLAMY STORER,
Madrid, Spain,

My dear Mrs. Storer, It was awfully good to hear from you even in the shape of what you call a ‘cry.’ Two members of the administration spoke to me about extracts of my letters to you, having been shown as coming from you. They did not speak to me until after the campaign began, telling me they did not think it was any of their business, but when the campaign began they were afraid that something might be put in the papers which could be twisted to the disadvantage of the party. Exactly what they said the extracts were I have forgotten, but they had impressed them as being subject to misconstruction.

I understand absolutely, oh warmest of friends and staunchest of supporters ! what your motives are : you want to do good to the American commonwealth and to elevate your Church. You are quite right in both objects ; but the President can no more try to get a certain Archbishop made a cardinal, because it would be a good thing from the standpoint of the body politic here, than he can try to get a certain Methodist minister made a Bishop from similar reasons. For instance there are any number of Methodist clergymen who are political prohibitionists and support the third party and denounce the President because he will not encourage drunkenness in the army by putting down the canteen. It is a bad thing to have any clergymen of this fool type promoted ; but it

would be a worse thing for the President to try to interfere with his promotion.

The particular Dutch Reformed individual who is writing to you seems to have accumulated an enormous quantity of Catholic intimacy. I do not think it is exactly support; it is rather a desire to be supported. On every question, such as the Church property in the Philippines, the marriage law in Cuba, Catholic representation on charitable bodies and Catholic chaplains in the army and navy, I have appeals from numerous Catholics. They are almost always appeals which I feel to be just and I help them out to the best of my ability. Among my telegrams of congratulations, by the way, were telegrams from the Archbishops of Havana and Manila as well as from Archbishop Ireland; also a long letter from Archbishop Corrigan!!!

I only wish you could go to Paris. Bellamy would be a corking Ambassador; but alas, I am out of politics now; I am as useless as a fifth wheel as has ever been constitutionally provided for in any government.

With love to Bellamy,
Ever yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

" OYSTER BAY, Dec. 27, 1900.

Mrs. BELLAMY STORER,
U.S. Legation,
Madrid, Spain.

My dear Mrs. Storer, It was so very nice to hear from you. In the first place, about my letter concerning Archbishop Ireland. — I now see what the quotation was which caused such anxiety among my political friends during the last campaign; it was the allusion to Protestant fanaticism. [See letter of March 27, 1899, copied above.] Taken by itself and out of the context that absolutely true statement would have

been used to the utmost damage both to McKinley and to me.

My desire is so great to help you whenever you ask it that I did what I ought not to have done in writing that letter. I mean by 'what I ought not to have done,' having a just and proper regard for the effect of what I say (should it by any chance get out) upon the political fortunes of those associated with me — for a letter such as this, which contains what every thoughtful and fair minded man will agree with, can, nevertheless, in a campaign, be so twisted as to be a detriment to the cause I represent. This occurred through more than one of my writings this year, and I am very anxious that there should be no repetition. Can you not reclaim any copy of my letter, if any has been sent anywhere?

Ever yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

The two foregoing letters do not suggest any misuse of letters by Mrs. Storer, and certainly there had never been any use contrary to Mr. Roosevelt's own wish. They appear to show only the writer's fear of public knowledge of what he had written. The suggestion that a President could not try to get an Archbishop made Cardinal must be read in the light of what Mr. Roosevelt had himself tried to get President McKinley to do privately. That no official request or effort in that direction could properly come from the President is, and was, plain, and certainly neither I nor my wife has ever represented such a thing to any one, or undertaken to transmit Mr. Roosevelt's official influence. Indeed, I have never quoted anything said or done by Mr. Roosevelt while Vice-President or President (excepting on one occasion referred to later when I acted in Rome by his express request), but we have confined

ourselves to using the two letters written in 1899 referred to above as he intended them to be used, and have done this in such way that no error as to their date could have arisen nor any embarrassment have resulted to him as Vice-President or President by reason of any mistake about the time when they were written.

After Mr. Roosevelt had succeeded to the Presidency he returned to the subject of publicity and the possibility of there being letters of his in the possession of other persons, and wrote a letter from which I extract so much as refers to this :

“WHITE HOUSE.

Personal. WASHINGTON, January 16, 1902.

Dear BELLAMY, . . . Will you ask Maria again if there is any letter of mine to her, or a copy of any letter which, so far as she is aware, is in the hands of any one else? It is stated with the utmost insistence that Rampolla has one. I care very little as far as I am personally concerned, for what I write I stand by, but it is obviously not wise on general principles that any letter of mine should be in the hands of any one to whom it was not addressed, at this time.

With love to both of you,

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Bellamy Storer.

Minister of the United States,

Madrid, Spain.”

In fact Cardinal Rampolla did have in his possession copies of the two letters given above, written by Mr. Roosevelt in 1899 and 1900, when he was Governor of New York, or of parts of them. Mrs. Storer wrote at

once to Cardinal Rampolla, who ordered the letters to be returned to her. She informed President Roosevelt that she had got them, and received from him the following letter : —

“ WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, February 17, 1902

My dear MARIA, That is all right. You need not bring the letters. All I want you to do is to keep them yourself. Evidently some people at Rome have been talking. A most resolute effort has been made to mix up facts and try to show that, as president, I have been endeavoring to interfere with ecclesiastical matters.

I am looking forward to seeing you and Bellamy.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mrs. Bellamy Storer,
Hotel d'Angleterre,
Biarritz, France.”

I have gone over these matters of a rather early date in order to make clear what had been the position of Mrs. Storer and myself in matters affecting the relations between the Church and the country, and how far our actions in these matters had been known to President McKinley and to Mr. Roosevelt before he became President, and had been not only permitted, but encouraged and promoted, by them, and by others in high office in the administration. This brings the situation down to occurrences in the autumn of 1903, to which I am now about to call attention.

In October, 1902, I was appointed by President Roosevelt Ambassador to Austria-Hungary. In the summer and autumn of 1903 I visited the United States on leave of

absence, and with Mrs. Storer was a guest of the President at Oyster Bay. During my visit there the relations of the Catholic Church with America were discussed by President Roosevelt with me, and the President was warm in his praise of Archbishop Ireland, of whom he spoke in terms of enthusiastic friendship on account of his conspicuous services as an American citizen, and, incidentally, for his assistance as a supporter of the Republican party and the administration. On that occasion, Archbishop Ireland being the topic of conversation, the President said to me that if I went to Rome he would like to have me see the Pope, and say to him in person that the Archbishop was his friend, and that he would be pleased to hear that he had received the honor of promotion to the Cardinalate.

I did not tell even Archbishop Ireland of the President's commission to me, not feeling at liberty to do so, but he immediately learned of it directly from the President himself, for shortly after the conversation the President told him what he had said. This we learned from the Archbishop, who wrote at once to Mrs. Storer, in October and November, 1903, that the President had told him that he had commissioned Mr. Storer to speak for him, *viva voce*, at the Vatican, and gave the substance of his interview with the President in these words : —

"The President said to me, 'Mr. Storer has told you what I said to him about you, Archbishop?'

"I replied, 'I do not remember' —

" 'About his going to Rome?'

"I said 'No.'

" 'Well,' he said, 'I told him I would not write a letter to the Pope asking for honors for you but I said

that he could go to Rome and say, *viva voce*, to the Pope how much I wish you to be cardinal, and how grateful I personally would be to him for giving you that honor.'"

This action of the President in informing Archbishop Ireland of my commission furnished me with an independent evidence of his wishes and of his willingness that they should be known to the persons concerned, though incidentally it confirmed what the President had more than once said to me, to the effect that he did not want to put his wishes in writing. So far as oral messages went, however, I was not the only person who had been used to deliver one, for, some weeks before, the President had asked Mgr. O'Connell to say the same thing to the Pope, and this Mgr. O'Connell had done in an interview with Pope Pius X on September 24, 1903, in the second month of his Pontificate, and had transmitted to the President, in reply, a message from Pope Pius X in this form, — "Present to the President my compliments, tell him of my esteem for himself personally and for the country which he governs, and say to him that his wishes in regard to Mgr. Ireland will most probably be fulfilled."

I had nothing to do with this mission of Mgr. O'Connell's, but was informed of it and of its results before approaching the Pope on the errand given to me.

A few weeks after my return to Europe I went to Rome, and on December 2, 1903, had an audience with Pope Pius X. I had already made a translation into French of a memorandum which I had taken of the President's oral message to the Pope in order that I might deliver it intelligibly, as the Pope does not understand English. At

the interview I held that translation in my hand and read it to the Pope. I have preserved it, and it reads as follows : —

“ Il m’a dit et m’a autorisé de dire à Votre Sainteté que l’Archêveque de St. Paul est son ami personnel, et qu’il possède toute sa confiance comme prélat et comme citoyen : qu’il désire vivement pour Mgr. Ireland tous les honneurs de l’Eglise ; et qu’il verrait avec le plus grand plaisir et satisfaction l’élévation au Cardinalat de Mgr. Ireland.”

I said nothing which could enlarge the scope of this message or color its import. I simply delivered it and left it to carry its own proper weight.

Immediately after this interview I wrote to Mr. Roosevelt a personal and confidential letter, giving a full account of what had occurred there, a verbatim statement in English of what was said by me to the Pope, and an account of the Pope’s reception of the message.

I should say that I had carefully avoided making known to any one that I had received a commission from the President. The President had frequently insisted that any public knowledge that he was interested in Church matters would be injurious to him, and I had just had a definite reminder of his feeling in that respect by learning that Mgr. O’Connell’s errand to the Pope had got into the newspapers and had called out from the President’s Secretary a statement flatly denying that the President had authorized it. Unfortunately, the very thing that had happened on Mgr. O’Connell’s visit now happened on mine, for a newspaper correspondent in Rome telegraphed to an American newspaper a report that I had seen the

Pope, and gave an account of my audience, connecting it with Archbishop Ireland. How this happened I do not know. It was not in any manner through me. The report was even said to have been telegraphed originally from Washington to Rome and repeated from there to Washington. I certainly had every intention to keep the matter secret, and every reason to desire, in the interest of success for my errand, that it should be secret.

This newspaper report of my visit was brought to the attention of President Roosevelt, and evidently greatly irritated him. I received a letter from him dated December 27, 1903, which I give in full, as it was subsequently referred to by the President:

"WHITE HOUSE

Personal. WASHINGTON. December 27, 1903.

My dear BELLAMY: The enclosed article is but one of several of the same kind which have appeared, and letters are beginning to come to both Hay and myself on the same subject. I need hardly point out that but few things could be more embarrassing or more mischievous than to have had the opportunity given for such articles to appear. What has occurred shows clearly that it is hopeless for you to expect that people will appreciate the difference between what you, as an American Catholic, in your private capacity, say, and what you, as an American Ambassador, say. I take it for granted that you supposed you were speaking merely in your private capacity to people who would not misunderstand you, and who would not repeat what you said. Your faith has evidently been misplaced. In view of what has occurred I must ask you, while you are in the United States service, to take no part either directly or indirectly in such a matter as this, and hereafter to

repeat to no man what I have said to you concerning the subject of the article. You have doubtless yourself seen, by what has occurred, that such action can have only mischievous results.

I have the heartiest admiration for Archbishop Ireland. I should be delighted to see him made cardinal, just as I was delighted to see Lawrence made the Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; just as I have been delighted at various Methodist friends of mine who have been made bishops. But as President, it is none of my business to interfere for or against the advancement of any man in any church; and as it is impossible to differentiate what I say in my individual capacity from what I say as President — at least in the popular mind, and apparently also in the Roman mind — I must request you not to quote me in any way or shape hereafter.

Have you written any one, excepting John Hay or myself, stating that the removal of Hurst was wrong? I do not believe you have, but the other day some one quoted you to this effect. I need hardly say that under no circumstances must you write to an outsider commenting upon a removal by my direction on Secretary Hay's recommendation, and on absolutely conclusive proof of misconduct and unfitness.

With love to Maria, believe me,

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Bellamy Storer,
United States Ambassador,
Vienna, Austria."

This letter from the President filled me with astonishment. Its tone was one of rebuke for speaking to the Pope on the subject, and yet I had spoken by the President's express request. Then, too, my letter reporting the

interview was wholly ignored by the President, and he assumed the air of one who had just learned from the newspapers for the first time, and with pained surprise, anything about the affair. I replied as follows : —

“AMERICAN EMBASSY

VIENNA, 10, January 1904.

Dear THEODORE, Yours of 27 December has just reached me. I am as sorry as you can be that anything I did or said is being used to attack you with. As I wrote you exactly what I did and said, you may judge whether I overstepped what belonged to me. As for the article you send — its contempt of common sense in making it appear that your representative at Rome had done something reprehensible, ought to rouse common sense into temper and reciprocal contempt.

Do not shut your eyes to the danger which for five years I have been trying to head off from the Republican party and its candidates. I hope I am not the only one who is tired of my church possessing a hierarchy which is (so far as it knows politics) by a very large majority, in principle, opposed to us politically. Although, when once ‘Bryanism’ took possession of the Democratic party, a very large proportion of my Church voted Republican, at another time this large fragment of influence and votes is quite likely to return to its old political fold. The Republicans, for the first time, in 1884, began to make serious inroads on the solidity of Catholic votes for the Democratic party. That was on a moral issue of the personal character of a candidate; you know a very large proportion of this gain went back to Mr. Cleveland in 1892. In 1896 and 1900 we got perhaps more than half of the votes of members of my Church. Are we going to keep them? Are the Democrats going to give us again a moral issue? Do you suppose that

the influence of such powerful minds as Mesmer and McPhall will naturally tend toward Republicanism? Will the influence even of such good men as Gibbons, Ryan, Keane, and others of old Maryland extraction, be thrown this time for Republican success — should the issues be such as are made by only normal political differences?

If any better, or even other, way, of balancing this doubt in our favor, than by straining every nerve to have the great Republican influence in my church recognized as standing of equal value in the eyes of the Spiritual authority of this Church (as the Democracy has been able to make appear the contrary for thirty or forty years) can be shown me I am willing to follow it. Do you know any other influence we can rely on for this than Abp. Ireland's? If you can — tell me; and then remember very carefully what you tell me and tally with this what I may do or say; all the time trying not to compromise you.

As for Hurst* — at the same time I wrote you direct I gave him a letter of introduction to Hanna, as to his father's old personal and political friend. In this I said just as I had told you, and as I repeated verbally to you, that if the charges against Hurst were made by Herdliska, they ought to be looked upon with the greatest suspicion — as the character and interested motives of the latter made to my mind a most unsavory mixture. Hurst swore to me that he had never been able to learn why he had been removed, but had reason to believe that Herdliska wanted his place.

I introduced Hurst to Hanna as one asking only to find out why he was removed, and removed only by

* I may explain that Mr. Hurst, son of the well-known Methodist Bishop, had been Consul-General at Vienna, and was summarily discharged without explanation or assignment of cause, and his place given to another man. He appealed to me to interest myself in his defence, and I wrote to the President and Senator Hanna about him. Subsequently he was appointed Consul at La Guayra, Venezuela.

telegram with, as he stated, a refusal to give him any reason. That was in January 1903, and since that time, except to yourself, I have never even spoken of the matter, and my letter to you and to Hanna of a year ago are the only letters I ever have written.

I repeat again—if the Department acted for reasons outside Herdliska, I have had, and now have, nothing to say. If it was only on Herdliska's urgency, the Department has been misled by untrustworthy information just as much as any Dreyfus Court Martial was misled by forged evidence.

I haven't the slightest personal interest in Hurst—and the matter has ceased to be my business from the time I wrote in January 1903, and you answered that the matter was final.

Faithfully yours,
BELLAMY STORER."

Shortly after writing this I received another letter from the President, written before mine to him could have been received, on December 30, 1903, three days after the first and still more astonishing. I quote the portions referring to this matter :

"Let me repeat to you that in reference to matters affecting the Catholic Church events have absolutely shown that while you are Ambassador you must keep absolutely clear of any deed or word in Rome or elsewhere which would seem to differentiate your position from that of other Ambassadors. The mere fact of a report in the newspapers about your calling at the Vatican had a very unfortunate effect. I daresay you did not call. You may merely have seen some cardinal privately, but the unpleasant talk over the affair emphasizes the need of extreme circumspection while you are in your present position. While I am President and you are Ambassador neither of us in his public relation is to act as Catholic or Protestant,

Jew or Gentile and we have to be careful not merely to do what is right but so to carry ourselves as to show that we are doing what is right. I shall ask you not to quote me to any person in any shape or way in connection with any affair of the Catholic Church and yourself not to take action of any kind which will give ground for the belief that you as an American Ambassador are striving to interfere in the affairs of the church."

This letter, with its virtual assertion that my visit to the Vatican was not only unauthorized, but was so contrary to what could have been expected that the President hardly then believed that it had occurred, was unintelligible except on the theory that he had resolved to repudiate all authority for my action, and to appear ignorant of it, and was now writing a letter which would be serviceable if needed later as evidence to support that position. In fact, this was the use to which the letter was afterwards actually put by him in quoting it to persons not informed of the facts, as will appear later. I felt that the only thing for me to do in this situation was to tender my resignation at once, and that I immediately did, accompanying it by a letter to the President of which I regret to say that I can find no copy. To this I received the following reply:—

"WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON January 29, 1904.

Dear BELLAMY:— I have your letter. It is absolutely all right; we will treat the incident as closed. Nothing could persuade me to accept your resignation, old fellow, and I am sure John Hay feels as I do. When I see you I shall explain, as I do not like

to do on paper, both how full had been the steps taken by Hay in investigating the matter, and the use that was made against me of your letter. I shall give Hay your note.

Faithfully yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

With this the incident closed. I had followed exactly the President's request in seeing Pope Pius X. I had reported to him in detail my interview; I had put it squarely to him that I had done nothing beyond what he had asked me to do, and he had thereupon left the subject, not disavowing his authority nor dissenting from my statement. I accordingly accepted as sincere the cordial expressions with which he refused to accept my resignation, as it was apparent that his irritation had been caused, not by my acts, but by the publicity which had unfortunately been given to things which he wished to have done, but wished to be kept secret. The President never alluded to any phase of this matter again until two years later, when, in pressing for my resignation, he quoted to my wife these letters of December, 1903, as evidence that he had then been displeased by my conduct.

During the two years from January, 1904, to December, 1905, matters of the Catholic Church were not brought into our correspondence. I continued to be on the same terms of close intimacy with the President as before, and his letters and interviews showed the same apparent friendship and confidence. His attitude toward Archbishop Ireland and the possible appointment of the Archbishop to the office of Cardinal evidently remained unchanged, for shortly after writing to me his letter of December 30,

1903, given above, he talked with the Archbishop about the newspaper article, inquired how it could have got into print, referred to the letter just written to Mr. Storer, expressed his confidence in Mr. Storer, and his hope that the outcome of Mr. Storer's mission would be what all desired, and repeated his expression of friendship for the Archbishop, referring to his message sent through me to the Pope with no sign of change of feeling, though regretting the publicity which had followed. My authority for this statement is a letter written to me by Archbishop Ireland at the time (February 2, 1904). I may recall, without impropriety, the facts that during 1904 the Presidential campaign was in progress, and that Archbishop Ireland was a Republican deservedly having great influence over the immense body of Roman Catholic voters in the West, so that cordial relations with him, and a readiness to be of assistance in his expected promotion to still higher influence, were very natural on the President's part, aside from the personal friendliness which, as the President always declared, he felt for the Archbishop.

In the summer of 1904 I was in the United States on leave of absence from my post, and in October I was, with my wife, a guest at the White House. During that visit the President spoke to me with great warmth of Archbishop Ireland, desiring his elevation to the Cardinal's office, and always without suggestion of any dissatisfaction with what had been previously done by me toward that end. On the evening of October 20 he made to my wife remarks on the subject which were so significant that she immediately made a memorandum of them. That memorandum I have found, and it is as follows:—

"WHITE HOUSE

OCTOBER 20th, 1904.

The President told me he had said to Cardinal Satolli that he wondered if the Vatican appreciated the influence and position of Archbishop Ireland in the United States. He said to Cardinal Satolli, 'I consult Archbishop Ireland and lean upon him for support in every issue that involves the Catholic Church in America and in every question which concerns the church in the Philippines.' The President said that Cardinal Satolli smiled blandly and said not a word, so that it seemed uncertain if he had clearly understood.

The President inquired however, a few days later of Monsignor O'Connell and found that Satolli had reported verbatim to him the conversation and had written a letter about it to the Vatican.

The President said: 'I do most sincerely hope that Archbishop Ireland may be made a Cardinal at the next Consistory. Nothing could help me more in matters connected with the church here and in the Philippines. I have done everything and said everything which it is possible for me to say and do in the matter. I certainly said enough to Cardinal Satolli (without *mentioning* the Cardinal's hat, which of course I could not do) to show my wishes and desires should the Pope see fit to gratify them.'"

I am informed that Cardinal Satolli at once reported to the Pope the President's conversation with him, as the President evidently intended him to do.

Immediately after the election of November, 1904, I wrote to the President making formal tender of my resignation, as is usually done by Ambassadors and Ministers on the eve of a change in administration, in order that the new President may be free to make a new appointment if he wishes. To this I received the following reply:—

"WHITE HOUSE.

WASHINGTON, January 9, 1905.

Dear BELLAMY, I accept your resignation and shall reappoint you as Ambassador to Vienna — unless, on talking it over with John Hay, it seems best simply not to accept the resignation.

Whether I can later transfer you elsewhere or not I do not know. If I am not able to, it may be that I shall want after, say, three years to put in Charles S. Francis, ex-Minister to Greece — son of Francis who was Minister to Vienna for a year. He was a good man in the diplomatic service. He has a great sentimental desire to succeed his father in Austria and did substantial work in this last campaign. I may not want to do this, but it is possible that I should like to.

With best wishes,

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

I never received any other answer than this to my letter of resignation, which remained unacted on, and I continued as Ambassador without reappointment. At any time thereafter my letter could have been acted on, and my place vacated, by a simple communication to me accepting the resignation, for nothing more was needed from me to put my place at the immediate disposal of the government.

Nothing was done at Rome respecting the appointment of any American to the office of Cardinal, notwithstanding earlier intimations that Archbishop Ireland was to be appointed, and toward the end of 1905 it was reported in Rome that this was because the President had caused it to be known there that he now favored the appointment of

Archbishop Farley. This rumor was hardly credible, but, as it was currently circulated and believed in Rome, it seemed to call for notice. Accordingly, Mrs. Storer wrote to the President on November 20, 1905, the following letter, calling his attention to the report:—

“AMERICAN EMBASSY

VIENNA. November 20, 1905.

Dear THEODORE, — I want to write to you in confidence of something which I have heard from Rome. Princess Alexandrine Windisch Graetz has told me.

She knew the Pope very well in Venice when he was Patriarch and has seen him often since at the Vatican. About eighteen months ago the Pope told her that he intended to appoint Archbishop Ireland Cardinal. He said: ‘*Ho studiato la causa: sára fatto*’ — (‘I have studied the question. It shall be done’). The Pope went on to say that there would be no consistory that year and perhaps not before the end of 1905 but that Archbishop Ireland’s appointment was a certainty because the Pope believed it would please the American non-Catholics and the American President.

Everything seemed settled, when Cardinal Merry del Val (who is personally not friendly to Archbishop Ireland because of the Archbishop’s patriotism during our war with Spain) announced that ‘The President of the United States has asked for the elevation of *two* Archbishops therefore he cannot care very much about either.’

It is said that a Mr. Philbin went to Rome with a request from you that Archbishop Farley should be raised to the Cardinalate.

This has wiped out Archbishop Ireland without promoting the Archbishop of New York. The Diocese of New York represents (as it did in the lifetime of Archbishop Corrigan) the foreign and re-

actionary spirit which is hurtful to our country and hostile to our schools and institutions. I cannot believe that you have asked for the recognition of this element, and that Archbishop Ireland's great work should reap no harvest of future influence would be a misfortune to the American Republic. If this assertion be not true I beg of you to set it right. I could take a cable from you to Rome myself and put it directly into the Pope's hand without Cardinal Merry del Val's knowledge or interference. You can trust me really. Please do not be angry with me for writing to you about this. You know that you can trust me. We are of one mind although of different creeds.

Always affectionately yours,

MARIA LONGWORTH STORER."

A few days later Mrs. Storer wrote to Judge Taft a confidential letter of the same import as the above, of which, however, I have no copy. In that letter were enclosed copies of three letters which Mrs. Storer had received, one from the Princess Alexandrine Windisch-Graetz, one from Cardinal Merry del Val, and one from Archbishop Keane. As, later, these enclosures were made the subject of comment by the President, I attach copies of the first two. (See Nos. 1 and 2 appended.) I have no copy of Archbishop Keane's letter.

It appears that the letter of Mrs. Storer to Judge Taft was shown not only to the President but to Mr. Root, who had then become Secretary of State. Mr. Root, I may point out, was probably ignorant of what had been previously done by me and others in church matters during the secretaryship of his predecessor, Mr. Hay.

While Mrs. Storer's letter was on its way she received a

letter from the President which, though it has no immediate bearing upon the matters now under discussion, I will quote as showing that the President could then have been feeling no dissatisfaction with my official conduct, but was proposing to give me fresh marks of his approval :

"THE WHITE HOUSE

Personal WASHINGTON November 24, 1905.

Dear MARIA, All right; in the event of the marriage of the King of Spain, Bellamy shall be made Special Ambassador, I shall see that the State Department gives nothing to . . . if he comes over here.

With love to Bellamy

Ever yours

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

The response to Mrs. Storer's letter came from the President in the form of two letters to which I ask careful attention, as they became the basis of the President's action in removing me from my post. They came under one and the same envelope marked "strictly personal." The first of these was addressed to me, and was as follows:—

"WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, December 11, 1905.

My dear BELLAMY, I am very sorry to have to write as I do in the enclosed letter to Mrs. Storer, which I shall ask you to read and then hand to her. I have been most reluctant to write as I herein write; I am deeply attached to both of you; but it is evident that I cannot longer delay using the plainest kind of language, for it is evident that such plain language is

necessary to prevent the American government from being put in a false and wholly improper position.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

The second letter, which was enclosed in that just given, was addressed to Mrs. Storer. It is so long that I refrain from giving it in full here, but refer to the copy which I attach, and I ask that it be carefully read in the light of the occurrences which preceded it, of which I have given the history above. (See No. 3 appended.)

I cannot trust myself to express fully the feeling of indignation with which I read the letter addressed to Mrs. Storer. Though I was in the public service, I felt, and still feel, that I had lost none of the rights which a man has to judge of the propriety of letters addressed to his wife, and to resent an improper communication. I did not then know, what I have since learned, that the letter was not even written for my wife's eyes or mine alone, but had been shown to others before it was sent, and thus used to make a case against a lady, a trusting friend, who could not be heard in her own defence. My wife was deliberately accused of having quoted isolated sentences from the President's letters to convince other persons that he was doing exactly what, as he asserts, he had explicitly stated in writing that he would not do. This charge of shameful conduct was based on no evidence which could even have misled the writer into a hasty judgment, but was in answer to a letter which, whether approved or not, at least furnishes no such evidence either in itself or in its enclosures. The tone of long-suffering and outraged patience, the careful omission of all mention of anything that the

writer had himself done and authorized to be done in the matters complained of, the quotations from the letters written at the time of my errand to the Pope, without any of the facts and circumstances related above which would give those letters their true character or show that they were an angry complaint because what he had directed to be done had become known, — these things, with the abusive personal characterization of my wife, and the assumed indignation with what had been, in fact, permitted and encouraged where not expressly directed, seemed to me to put the letter outside the limit of anything justifiable, even in a stranger. What a sense of outraged friendship it aroused in us can perhaps be understood by any one who has read even the small part of the private correspondence given above.

The President's letter begins by characterizing Mrs. Storer's letter in a way which could hardly give a fair idea of its character to one who had not seen it. Her letter is given above, and reference to it will show whether it proposed that Mrs. Storer should be authorized to go to Rome to drag the United States government into an intrigue. Such a proposal might well have been "astounding." But why should the President have been astounded at a suggestion that Mrs. Storer should be entrusted to take to the Pope a private message from him which should deny that the President had interfered to procure the appointment of Archbishop Farley? The President had already done far more than that in sending, through me and others, affirmative personal messages in favor of Archbishop Ireland; but no allusion to this appears in the letter.

The assertion that Mrs. Storer's letter to Mr. Taft "if

published" would misrepresent both the President and the American government, again, is not borne out by anything that Mrs. Storer wrote to Judge Taft, and the President's indignant denial of her right to "meddle" is inconsistent with the previous history of these matters. Mrs. Storer's letters to Cardinal Merry del Val and the Princess Alexandrine are spoken of as "utterly improper" and "intolerable," which would carry the impression that the President had seen what he condemned; but he had never seen them. The Princess Alexandrine was not in public life, and Mrs. Storer's letter to her was part of a private correspondence between two ladies which I should have thought beyond the range of such comment. The letter to the Cardinal, while it did concern the promotion of Archbishop Ireland, was written by my wife as a private person to an officer of her Church. If copies of these letters had been kept I should gladly have produced them; but none were taken. I may say positively, however, that neither of them made any allusion to Mr. Roosevelt. The President's statement that, though approached by many persons, he had refused to "interfere" by requesting an appointment is to be taken in connection with what he admits that he did say to such persons, namely, that he would be delighted to see Archbishop Ireland promoted. With that admission the President has stated his position substantially as both I and Mrs. Storer have always understood it, and the "outrage" of which he says Mrs. Storer had been guilty was never committed. What the President has said to many people appears; more than this neither Mrs. Storer nor I have ever attributed to him. I wish to be as precise and emphatic as possible in this denial. We have neither of us

ever represented to any person, by word or letter, that the President requested anything from the Vatican, or put him in the attitude of exerting pressure or a preference for one candidate rather than another, or of doing or saying anything officially or as if with the government behind him, and the statement that Mrs. Storer had written letters conveying a wrong impression of his attitude is a wholly incorrect characterization of letters which the President had never seen. We have repeated to prelates of the church, including the Pope, expressions of the President, but only expressions of the precise character which he admits in this letter he was in the habit of making to many persons, and we have always done this with full regard for the distinction which the President points out between private wishes and official requests. We repeated those expressions because they were used to us with the unmistakable purpose that we should repeat them, and, at least in one instance, with the express request that I should repeat them to the Pope; and what the President has said and done with me he has said and done with other members of our Church, including prelates, whom he certainly expected to be influenced by his expressions and to quote them, as no doubt those persons have done. The President refers to the letter of Cardinal Merry del Val as a rebuke to Mrs. Storer. Whether it is so can be judged by referring to the copy given herewith. Certainly neither this nor other letters from the Cardinal or from any other authority ever conveyed to us the impression of a rebuke. The President speaks of what he had been continually hearing about Mrs. Storer for the last couple of years, as if he had been for that period displeased by her conduct; and yet we had

never had an intimation of this, but, on the contrary, his letter written three weeks before, on November 20, quoted above, conveyed to us a strong evidence of his approval. He asserts that he had been unofficially informed on behalf of Berlin and of Paris that it would not be agreeable, because of Mrs. Storer's actions, to have me as Ambassador in either place. I know nothing about Berlin, but I have taken pains to learn whether this was true of Paris, and it is explicitly denied by M. Jusserand in a recent letter as follows: —

"44 RUE HAMELIN
July 20, 1906.

Dear Mrs. STORER: I have the same answer to make to your letter of the 19th just received, as I made to your former one, and the answer is: no, certainly not.

Neither Mr. Delcassé nor any one asked me to make any representations at the State Department or elsewhere to prevent Mr. Storer's being appointed to Paris nor did I ever make any of any kind.

This new story with which I am very unduly associated is not truer than the other and I sincerely hope there may be no more of the same sort. I have the honor of returning to you herewith Archbishop Ireland's letter which you had kindly sent for my perusal and I beg you to believe me.

Very respectfully yours,
JUSSERAND."

A similar denial has been made by M. Delcassé who recently, on April 24, 1906, assured Archbishop Ireland that never during his ministry did the French government express itself in opposition to Mr. Storer, and added that, on the contrary, he had expected Mr. Storer's nomination,

and would have been happy to receive it, and M. Delcassé voluntarily authorized the repetition in any quarter of what he had said.

The President adds a postscript in which he quotes from letters written to Mrs. Storer in December, 1903. Those are the letters referred to above as written to me at the time of the newspaper report of my audience with Pope Pius X, spoken of above. The quotation from the letter of December 19, 1903, shows that the President said to Mgr. O'Connell, "Personally I have a very strong friendship and admiration for the Archbishop and that individually it would please me greatly to see him made a Cardinal." More than this, we have never attributed to the President, and have always known well, that he "could not, as President, in any way try to help any clergyman," and have respected that caution; and indeed it is hard to understand how any person of experience could expect from any President the sort of interference that he so emphatically refuses. The letters of December 27 and December 30, 1903, are fully discussed above, in connection with my errand to the Pope. That the letters were written in angry displeasure because a newspaper had by some means discovered what the President had expressly ordered to be done, — this, as I have already observed, does not appear, and presumably was not known to the members of the Cabinet.

To the President's letter, addressed to me, I made no reply. It is my failure to answer this and another letter which soon followed that has now been officially given out as the reason for my removal from office. As to that letter, it will be observed that it not only does not in terms call for

an answer, but opens no subject which involved an answer from me. It merely covers an enclosure addressed to my wife, and it is my wife who is asked to reply to the enclosure. Moreover, the letter to me is not only marked "strictly personal," but is definitely unofficial in character, addressed "Dear Bellamy," and is obviously a part of that voluminous personal correspondence with me, which, it must be borne in mind, had been actively going on for several years. The fact that it related, through the enclosure, to my wife's conduct in certain public matters, could not serve of itself to make it official if any distinction between personal and official communications, referring to public matters, exists. That distinction the President strongly insists upon respecting his own remarks in this very connection, and, certainly, if available for him it is available for me. If the distinction does not exist, or is not to be observed, I can only say that I and my wife have received, since I have been in the diplomatic service, a great number of letters from Mr. Roosevelt commenting on public men and public matters with such unrestrained freedom that to treat them as official would seem to me a staggering proposal. I am, however, quite ready to lay the entire correspondence before the State Department, or the Cabinet, if the President's view is that this correspondence is a part of my official business. At all events, I regarded the letter to me as private, to be answered or not as I might decide on personal grounds; and on grounds of that character I decided not to answer it, as that seemed to me to be the most dignified way to treat a letter which could only be adequately answered by writing more plainly than I cared to trust myself to do.

I certainly could not knowingly have committed the unpardonable breach of official manners of leaving unnoticed an official letter from my government.

But it is plain that it cannot be a mere literal failure to answer the letter addressed to me that is complained of. An answer confined to that could have been, at most, a mere acknowledgment of the receipt of the enclosure. It is the letter to my wife which alone is significant. At my request this letter was left unanswered by her.

Respecting this letter it is hard to understand the exact nature of the complaint that is made against me. As I have said, it was my wife who was addressed and from whom a categorical answer was asked. Is it now asserted that her failure to answer was my official misconduct? Such a contention puts the wife of an Ambassador and her correspondence in a new and singular light. I do not make this distinction between my wife and myself as a technical ground for evading responsibility. On the contrary, I assume the whole responsibility for her failure to answer, for, as I have said, it was by my request that she did not notice the letter; but I point out that the fact that the letter was addressed to her, concerned her conduct, and requested in terms a personal answer from her, and an answer which she alone could have given, justified me in dealing with the letter as one addressed definitely to my wife, and one wholly personal to her, though, of course, through her, personal to me. I was entitled, I insist, to determine what position to take respecting that letter by the feelings and rules of conduct which a gentleman in private life might apply to correspondence addressed to his wife, and my decision is to be judged accordingly. At

all events, it was upon these considerations that I did act, and I had no hesitation in deciding that the letter should not be answered. The manner in which the subject was opened made discussion impossible, and it was plain that unless I was prepared to concur in a letter to be written by her, abjectly confessing misbehavior where none had been, and promising to offend no further, there could be no answer which would not merely lead to still more angry correspondence. The result of silence I well understood might be that which the President had expressly stated in his letter, — that my resignation would be asked for. That I was ready to face, for I preferred to leave the service rather than sacrifice self-respect in an attempt to save my place, — an attempt which, even if I could have brought myself to make it, I was sure could not long have availed against a deliberate wish to have the place in order to give it to some one else. That I should be abruptly dismissed, as finally happened, did not, I admit, occur to me, though I cannot say that I should have changed my decision even to avert that. I had already sent in my resignation in January, 1905, and that resignation had been ever since then in the President's hands unacted on. My impulse was to leave to the President the responsibility of taking on his own motion the step which he threatened, rather than to adopt the alternative which he offered of sending in a second resignation, a step which, if unexplained, would have been interpreted as an admission that I retired because my wife was not to be allowed to do in the Church what the President wrongly accused her of doing.

The President's two letters given above were received on December 26, and, as I have stated, were not answered.

Shortly after that day I went to Egypt on leave of absence granted by the State Department.

On February 3, 1906, the President wrote me a second letter as follows: —

“WHITE HOUSE.

Personal. WASHINGTON, February 3, 1906.

My dear BELLAMY, On December 11th last, nearly two months ago, I wrote you a letter enclosing one for Mrs. Storer. Both letters called for answers. I should like to have these answers as early as is convenient.

Sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.”

This letter was sent to the address in Egypt which I had given to the State Department, and was received on February 26. It will be observed that, like the previous letter, it is marked “personal,” and is addressed to me by my Christian name. If the designation means anything this letter formed part of a non-official correspondence.

Had I answered this letter instantly on its receipt the answer could not have reached Washington before March 14, allowing only sixteen days for the course of mail, and of this, of course, the President must have been well aware, having sent his letter to Egypt. Without waiting for that time to elapse, however, the President sent to me on March 5 the following telegram addressing it not to my address in Egypt, as in the case of the letter, but to Vienna, whence it was forwarded, by intermediate repetitions, to the address in Egypt which was still my address in Egypt as registered in the State Department: —

"STORER,
American Ambassador,
Vienna.

You have not answered my letter of December 11th although I supplemented it by another letter of February 3d. I do not know whether this is because you do not wish to remain in the Diplomatic Service or are unwilling to comply with the requirements which I have stated. In either event I request your resignation as Ambassador.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

On receipt of this telegram, without a moment's unnecessary delay, I complied with the request and tendered my resignation by the following letter:—

"On leave of Absence
in Egypt near Luxor
7th March 1906.

The Honorable ELIHU ROOT
Secretary of State.

SIR:—In obedience to the peremptory telegram of the President just received via Vienna and Cairo I have the honor to tender my resignation as Ambassador of the United States.

Whoever may be designated my successor I beg that he be informed that it will give me pleasure to afford him any information or service in my power regarding his installation. I am, etc., etc.

BELLAMY STORER."

My letter should have reached its destination, allowing the shortest interval for mail, not earlier than March 23. Without waiting for it, and before it possibly could have arrived, the Department of State, on March 20, sent the following telegram, addressed to me in Egypt:—

"President desires me to inform you that you are recalled as ambassador Austria-Hungary, and that your quality as such this day ceases. Letters of recall will be delivered by your successor.

ROOT"

This was followed, on receipt of my resignation, by the following letter, confirming my dismissal:—

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON. March 26, 1906.

BELLAMY STORER, Esquire,
Vienna, Austria.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant in which you state that in obedience to the peremptory telegram of the President just received by you, via Vienna and Cairo, you tender your resignation as Ambassador.

In reply I beg to say that before the receipt of your letter your recall by the President had already taken effect and your official character had ceased.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ELIHU ROOT."

It will be seen that I was thus recalled after having complied punctiliously with the President's request by sending my resignation, and sending it for the second time, and that my removal was effected by a telegram while my letter of resignation, sent with all possible despatch, was on its way. That telegram was immediately followed by the President's sending to the Senate for appointment as Ambassador to Austria-Hungary the name of Hon. Charles S. Francis. This was the gentleman whom he had mentioned, it will be remembered, in his letter to me of Janu-

ary 9, 1905, as one who had done substantial work in the campaign, and for whom he might later wish my place.

That nothing might be omitted in the attempt to discredit me publicly the following telegram was sent, on March 27, to the Foreign Department of the Austrian government, addressed to Count Goluchowski: —

“I have the honor to advise Your Excellency that the President has been pleased to terminate at once and without any such delay as would be incident to the transmission of a letter of recall by mail, the authority of his Ambassador Mr. Bellamy Storer to represent him. The President has accordingly recalled Mr. Storer, whose representative functions have already ceased. This action will be supplemented by a formal letter of recall which already has been signed and will be presented to you in accordance with former custom in such matters. The Secretary of Embassy at Vienna Mr. G. R. Rives has been named *Chargé d’Affaires*. I request Your Excellency to receive him and treat with him in that capacity.”

This telegram, sent as if in an emergency, and apparently to meet the danger into which I might plunge the government by holding myself out at Vienna for a few days longer as clothed with the authority of an Ambassador, is unprecedented, so far as I am aware, in diplomatic usage.

No reason for my summary discharge was vouchsafed me, nor was any given out in any responsible way. Newspaper correspondents in Washington published statements obtained from sources to which they had access, saying that it was because of my wife’s “interference” in affairs of the Roman Catholic Church, and her misuse of letters

from the President, but nothing appeared in such a way that I could answer it. I later learned indirectly that the President was making another charge against Mrs. Storer, this being that she had meddled with French politics by taking part in an anti-Republican intrigue to promote the marriage of Victor Bonaparte with a member of the Orleanist family. This charge the President evidently repeated to members of his Cabinet, for one of them has lately referred to it, and has said that he had been given to understand that the French Ambassador in Washington was the authority for it. The accusation was absolutely false. Neither Mrs. Storer nor I had ever been parties to any such plan, or had any sympathy with it, or any knowledge of its existence beyond what was rumored in the newspapers. Had that charge been seasonably brought to my notice, as I venture to say should have been done before giving it credence, we could have proved at once its absolute untruth. In order to fix, if possible, the authority for the false charge, Mrs. Storer applied, in July last, to the French Ambassador, and I give a copy of his reply :

"44 RUE HAMELIN,
7th July, 1906.

Dear Mrs. STORER, I have received your letter informing me that through different sources in America you have heard me quoted as the authority for a statement according to which you have interested yourself in Prince Victor Napoleon and the Imperialist party in France. You ask me from what source I may have derived such a story.

I have only this to say : The statement is entirely false ; I have never said to anyone what your informants are pleased to attribute to me. I never connected

you in any fashion whatsoever, by word of mouth or otherwise, with Prince Victor and his party, nor ever said anything which could be construed as having any such meaning.

I am as surprised at your correspondent's statements as you may have been, and I thank you for having given me this opportunity of most emphatically denying them.

I have the honor to be, dear Mrs. Storer,

Very sincerely yours,

JUSSERAND."

Finally, in order to elicit some definite statement of the charges against me, I sent to the Secretary of State, on June 23, the following letter: —

"23 JUNE 1906.

To Honorable ELIHU ROOT,

Secretary of State,

Washington.

SIR, Your telegram announcing to me my removal from office, — without reference to my resignation previously forwarded, — and your letter acknowledging the receipt of my resignation, were accompanied by no explanations or reason for this action of the Department.

After some necessary uncertainty as to my plans, I find my return to the United States will be delayed for a month or more. I, therefore, address you by letter believing that I am entitled to have exactly the reasons both of the President's wish to remove me from the Service, and of the manner in which this removal was effected. I request that I be informed of the grounds of both, by the Department in writing.

This information I ask may be given me in as full detail as possible. My address is 'care Morgan, Harjes & Co., Paris.'

Your obt. servant,

BELLAMY STORER."

To this I received the following reply : —

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1906.

“SIR: In reply to your letter of June 23rd I am directed by the President to write you as follows: On December 11, 1905, the President wrote you on a matter of great importance involving your retention in the service, a letter which called for an immediate answer. If you chose not to answer it the only proper course open to you, consistent with the demands alike of personal and official propriety, was immediately to resign your position as Ambassador. You, however, left the letter unanswered, and indeed without even acknowledgment of its receipt. After waiting about two months without receiving an answer the President, — because of his desire to treat you with the utmost consideration, — instead of removing you, wrote you again on February 3, 1906. This second letter you also left unanswered and without any acknowledgment of its receipt. After waiting a month, on March 5, 1906, the following telegram was sent you :

‘STORER,

American Ambassador, Vienna.

You have not answered my letter of December eleventh, although I supplemented it by another letter of February third. I do not know whether this is because you do not wish to remain in the Diplomatic service or are unwilling to comply with the requirements which I have stated. In either event I request your resignation as Ambassador.

Theodore Roosevelt.’

In this telegram you were merely requested to resign; a further act of consideration on the part of the Administration.

In view of your failure to answer either of the letters referred to above, it was clearly your duty, unless

you expected the Department to believe that you intended to leave this telegram likewise unanswered, to acknowledge it by cable. You did not thus acknowledge it. After waiting two weeks without receiving any answer, by which time three months and a half had elapsed without any answer from you to the original letter, six weeks without any answer from you to the second letter, and a fortnight without any answer from you to the telegram, you were notified by cable of your removal. This for the first time drew an answer from you by cable, and immediately afterwards your letter of resignation was received.

As you had already been removed and your successor's nomination sent to the Senate, no further action about you was possible; even if, which was not the case, it had been desired by the Department or the Administration to take such further action.

Yours truly,

ROBERT BACON,

Acting Secretary of State."

By this letter my recall is put solely upon the ground of a gross neglect of correspondence in failing to answer two letters and a telegram addressed to me on official business. Nothing is said of the letter to my wife, or of the character of either of the letters. Whether the letter of December 11, 1905, to me "called for immediate answer," or called for any answer, I have discussed above. It seems that I am now charged with neglect in not answering by cable instead of by letter the telegram of March 5, demanding my resignation. It is enough to reply to this that I did not telegraph my resignation because I was not asked to do so, and to have done it of my own motion would have been contrary, not only to usage, but to the rule expressly laid down by the State Department. The "Regulations for Dip-

lomatic Officers," issued by the State Department for the guidance of such officers, contain this direction :

" Article 273.

Resignation ; how tendered.

A diplomatic officer's resignation should always be tendered to the President ; but the letter tendering such resignation should be addressed to the Secretary of State. The telegraph should not be resorted to except in case of emergency."

To these instructions I undertook to conform punctiliously, supposing that if a telegraphic reply was desired I should have been so instructed, and not knowing that this was considered a "case of emergency."

I may add here, as bearing on the character of my correspondence with the President, that, as I had understood, and still understand, the rules of the State Department, all official communications passing between an Ambassador and his government are required to be through the State Department, and I had supposed this rule to be applicable as well to official communications from the President as to official communications to him. If I am right in my understanding of the rule it is also to be noticed that I was entitled to have at least a formal preliminary communication from the State Department before a "strictly personal " letter written by the President could properly be made the occasion of my summary recall.

I have endeavored to give candidly all the facts and circumstances which brought about my removal. I have been dismissed from office with discredit, my diplomatic career, previously honorable, as I have been assured by the government, and certainly never assailed, has been

terminated in disgrace, so far as the President could inflict such disgrace. I am given to understand that no criticism is made of my discharge of duty, and I may say that the government to which I was accredited treated me on my departure with unusual distinction, and gave me unsolicited assurances of its respect and regret. No reason for my dismissal has yet been given to the public—and the reason now given to me, a failure to answer letters, is one which on its face is but formal, and which of itself forces the questions, What letters and why unanswered? It is to answer these questions, and to throw myself on the judgment of fair-minded men, that I make this statement. I do not look for any reappointment or other redress. I do not write for the purpose of recrimination. I write because my self-respect demands that being, as I think, unjustly treated, I should resent the injustice, and ask that the facts be heard, and a fair and enlightened judgment passed upon my conduct.

There may be persons to whom the mere fact that I, or my wife, had anything to do with the Catholic Church will seem sufficient reason for almost any punishment, and by whom our action in that respect will be contemptuously dismissed as meddling and intriguing. If there are such persons I shall not argue with them, nor attempt to convince them that service to the country is not inconsistent with service to the Church, nor stop to point out again that it was because the country was brought into important and delicate relations with the Church that these things became necessary. I will only affirm that neither I nor my wife have ever set the interests of the Church against those of our country, or done anything for the Church which we are

unwilling to avow, or sought for the Church anything but what every patriotic Protestant would agree to be also the highest benefits to our country, benefits which, as we sought them, were to be open, clear, and free from every ecclesiastical entanglement.

It must be borne in mind that the President's interest in the selection of a Cardinal was not due to us. He had his own plans and wishes, and his own reasons for them, and he expressed his wishes in favor of one Cardinal or another quite independently of us, and often without our knowledge, whenever and to whomever he chose. If these expressions, either as he used them or as they were repeated by others, committed him beyond the point where he now wishes to stand, we are not responsible. We are answerable only for the proper use of what he said to us, and as to that there has been no room for misunderstanding between the President and me or my wife. Aside from his special commission to me, he has told us definitely and repeatedly his feelings and wishes about Archbishop Ireland in connection with a Cardinal's place; he has said the same things to Archbishop Ireland himself, and thereby gained, or retained, the Archbishop's friendly influence; he has said the same things, as his letters state, to other persons, prelates of the Church, who approached him on the subject and were allowed to leave him assured of his sympathy; he has said these things, not only without enjoining privacy, but with the unmistakable purpose that they should be repeated.

The President has, it is true, made a distinction between expressions of his personal wishes, and any official "interference" or request, or any attempt to apply pressure from the government.

Whether it was possible for him to preserve, under the circumstances, this distinction between the things which he has said so pointedly and so often to interested persons, and his official wishes, I will not discuss. I, at least, and my wife, have always respected his wish to have that distinction insisted on, and have never misrepresented him in this respect. How far other persons have shown the same caution I do not know, but, considering the situation and the number of persons spoken to by him, it is not strange that reports should gain wide circulation, in Rome and elsewhere, that the President had expressed definite wishes about one or another candidate, or strange that the exact form of his expressions should not always have been preserved. For such reports the President must hold responsible other persons with whom he has talked, not us. That we are not answerable for all that may have been quoted from him is plain from the fact that since March, 1906, at least, we have not been in a position to quote him at all, and yet reports of his wishes have never been more persistent or definite in Rome and elsewhere than since that date. Almost as I write, the Paris and American newspapers are publishing precise statements from their Roman correspondents (notably the Sunday "Figaro" of October 7, 1906) to the effect that the President has lately written personal letters to the Pope in favor of Archbishop Farley, and that the latter's promotion to be Cardinal is imminent. Why is my wife to be held responsible if echoes of the President's previous expressions to many persons about Archbishop Ireland came back to the White House by way of Rome? To whom, I must also ask, is the President listening, when he accepts,

without investigation, false and malicious gossip about my wife's participation in French politics? Why am I selected to receive the discharge of all the anger which, for some reason, the President chose to exhibit when his remarks about Church matters were made undesirably public? Why did a confidential letter written by my wife to Mr. Taft (an intimate friend) suddenly become so dangerous when shown to Mr. Root?

If the President finally found it convenient to change his attitude in Church matters and therefore wished to get rid of me, or if the time had come when my office was wanted for another, why was not my place obtained in the way usual in our politics, by asking for my resignation? I have always known well that I might be required to give up my office at any time, however well I might be filling it, if politics should require it for another man. This is, unhappily, an occurrence common in the diplomatic service of the United States, and I could expect no better treatment than that which any officer in the service is always facing as a possibility. With a resignation I was ready at every moment, and I had made the process of getting my place easy by twice definitely offering to resign, and for the last year I had held office with my resignation lying unacted on in the State Department at Washington. But this would not do, and even the arrival of my reiterated resignation by mail could not be waited for a few days. I was thrown out, by cable, with as little hesitation as if detected in a common fraud or a treasonable plot, and quite in that manner.

It is against this treatment that I protest, and this protest, made primarily for my own vindication, is made as

well in behalf of every other officer in the diplomatic service, and of the country itself, which is concerned in the honor and respect which its service is to receive at home and abroad.

I write this letter without the knowledge of Archbishop Ireland.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

BELLAMY STORER.

Cincinnati, Ohio, November, 1906.

COPIES OF LETTERS.

(1)

ROME, BABUINO 41.
April 1st, 1904.

Dear, dear Mrs. STORER: Many thanks for your kind letter from Abbazia. Monseigneur Cardinal Merry del Val got your letters.

He told me, nor he nor any one has the least influence with the Holy Father, who prays first, then studies every question himself, then *decides*. So when I had my private audience the 25th at 6 o'clock when I stayed a half an hour — the moment I began to read your letter to him concerning Archbishop Ireland he said: "Ho studiato la causa — Sarà fatto."

So Archbishop Ireland will be made a Cardinal at the next consistory. In few words the Holy Father said he understood perfectly well the good which will result from this election, showing the friendly feelings toward the American government. I cannot tell you *how* happy I feel and how fatherly the Pope was. Till now, nothing is decided when the next Consistory will take place — by no means before the summer. I enjoy my sejour very much though the weather is bad and very cold. I will stay here till the 12th of April. I will have so much to tell you. For today I cannot write more. Happy Easter to you and Mr. Storer. With much love, believe me, dear, dear Mrs. Storer

Your devoted friend

ALEXANDRINE WINDISCH-GRAETZ.

(2)

ROME, Nov. 23, 1905.

Dear Mrs. STORER, In reply to your letter of the 21st, I must inform you that, as far as I know, there will not be another American Cardinal named at the next Consistory.

This does not mean that there will never be another named, but the Holy Father does not seem to intend naming one at present. The matter is one of a very delicate nature for it lies so entirely with His Holiness himself and I myself cannot venture to interfere unduly. I had never heard that the Holy Father had expressed himself in the way referred to by you and I fancy there must be some misunderstanding. However, I am sure that any attempt to bring pressure to bear in such a delicate matter cannot further your wishes. I should also say that the same wish has been conveyed just as forcibly and with equally good reasons in favor of at least two other very distinguished Prelates in the United States, so that in the event of the Holy Father determining to name another American Cardinal the choice of the person would not be as easy a matter as it may seem to those who very naturally have only one in view. More than this I cannot say without overstepping the limits of a discretion which I must be the first to observe in a matter of this nature. With kind regards to the Ambassador I am, dear Mrs. Storer,

Yours devotedly in Christ,
R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

(3)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, December 11th 1905.

My dear Mrs. STORER, — Secretary Taft has just shown me your letter of November 26th, this letter being evidently intended for me as much as for him. On inquiry of Mrs. Roosevelt I find that she had received from you a letter to me which is probably the one to which you refer in your letter to Mr. Taft, but she tells me she treated this letter as she sometimes has treated other letters that you have sent her to deliver to me, when she knew that the receipt of them would merely make me indignant and puzzle me

as to what action I ought to take about Bellamy's remaining in the service ; that is, she did not give it to me.

Your direct or implied complaints of and reflections upon my own personal conduct give me no concern, but I am very gravely concerned at the mischievous effect your letters must have in misrepresenting the position of the United States government, and by the far reaching governmental scandal your indiscretion may at any time cause.

I have now seen your letter to me, sent through Mrs. Roosevelt. In it you actually propose that I should authorize you to go to Rome to take part in what I must call an ecclesiastical intrigue — and to drag the United States Government into it. Such a proposal is simply astounding.

You say that Cardinal Merry del Val has stated that I have requested that two archbishops — one Farley, be made Cardinals. All you had to say was that such a statement was a deliberate untruth because you knew that I had refused to make such a request even for Ireland.

You say in your letter "You can trust me, really." How can you say this when you write to Taft a letter which if by accident published would absolutely misrepresent, in the most mischievous manner both me and the American Government? You have no more right to meddle in these matters than Mrs. Reid would have to meddle in the Ritualist controversy, or Mrs. Tower to try to take charge of the relations of Germany to the American Lutherans.

Your letter to Mr. Taft, and the letters to Cardinal Merry del Val and Archbishop Keane (of the answers to which you enclose copies) and your letter to the Princess Alexandrine (of the answer to which you also enclose a copy) are all letters which it is utterly improper for you to have written, in your position as the wife of an American Ambassador, and show a continued course of conduct on your part which is intolerable if your husband is to remain in the diplomatic service. In the first place I wish it to be explicitly understood that though since I have been President I have been approached at different times by prelates of your church and even by laymen in your church with

requests that I ask of the Vatican or express a preference for the appointment of some person as Cardinal, I have always positively and unequivocally refused directly or indirectly thus to ask for the appointment of any man as Cardinal and it would have been a gross impropriety for me to have made any such request, while it is an outrage to represent me as having in any shape made it. To Archbishop Keane, to Monseigneur O'Connell, and to other men who have approached me on behalf of Archbishop Ireland, I have said that I had a very high regard for the Archbishop, and that I should be delighted to see him made a Cardinal, but that I could no more try to exercise pressure to have him made a Cardinal than pressure to get the Archbishop of Canterbury to establish an Archbishopric in America. Other persons have spoken to me, saying that Ireland could not be made a Cardinal, unless another cardinal was made in the Eastern States, and that they hoped that two Cardinals (usually mentioning Ireland and Farley) would be appointed, one in the east and one in the west. I always answered that I had a great regard for both men and would be delighted to see them made Cardinals, just as there were Episcopal clergymen and Methodist clergymen whom I would be delighted to see made Bishops, but that I would no more interfere, as you desire me to interfere, and as you have yourself been trying to interfere, under any possible circumstances. Your letters not only convey a totally wrong impression of my attitude but they are such as you have no business whatever to write, in view of the position of your husband in the diplomatic service. The letter of Cardinal Merry del Val to you of November 23d, is a rebuke to you expressing plainly his belief that you have been unwarrantably officious in matters with which you have properly no concern. It should of itself be enough to show to you how exceedingly unwise and improper your action in writing to him was. I am indignant that the wife of an Ambassador in the United States service should have written such a letter, should have given the impression undoubtedly conveyed in that letter, and should have incurred such a

rebuke. You do not seem to realize that it is out of the question for me knowingly to permit the wife of one of our diplomats to engage in ecclesiastical intrigues to influence the Vatican.

For the last couple of years I have continually been hearing of your having written one man or the other about such matters. I find you are alluded to by foreign members of the diplomatic body in Washington, Paris and Berlin as the "American Ambassadors to Rome." I was unofficially informed on behalf both of Berlin and of Paris, that because of these actions of yours it would not be agreeable to them to have Bellamy come as Ambassador to either place. Information of this kind has been repeatedly brought to Secretary Root. I have consulted him and Secretary Bonaparte, who is a member of your church, as to this last letter of yours. Root's feeling about the case is stronger than I care to put into words. Bonaparte's feeling is exactly my own. Suffice it to say that in any event it will probably be impossible. But I must go a little farther than this. You and Bellamy must understand that so long as Bellamy continues in the diplomatic service of the United States you must refrain from writing or speaking in the way you have been doing on any of these matters, affecting what are simply the personal politics of church policy, to any one and above all to any one connected with the Vatican. If you cannot make up your mind absolutely to alter your conduct in this regard while your husband is in the diplomatic service, to refrain absolutely from taking any further part in any matter of ecclesiastical politics at the Vatican and to refuse to write or speak to anyone (whether laymen or ecclesiastics, at home or abroad) as you have been writing and speaking in this Cardinal's hat matter, then Bellamy cannot with propriety continue to remain Ambassador of the United States.

I must ask you to give me this positive promise in writing if Bellamy is to continue in the service; and if you even unintentionally violate it, I shall have to ask for Bellamy's resignation; for I can no longer afford to have the

chance of scandal being brought on the entire American diplomatic service and on the American Government itself, by such indiscreet and ill-advised action as yours has been.

Yours very truly
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

P.S. Since writing the above I have looked up my correspondence with you and Bellamy and I find that I have expressed myself not merely once, but again and again about this matter in terms which it was simply impossible for you to misunderstand.

For instance on December 19th 1903 I wrote to Bellamy saying that Monseigneur O'Connell asked me to write something on behalf of Archbishop Ireland, and continuing; "I told him that of course I could not interfere in such a matter as it was none of my business who was made Cardinal: that personally I had a very strong friendship and admiration for the Archbishop and that individually it would please me greatly to see him made Cardinal, just as it pleased me when Dr. Satterlee was made Bishop of Washington, but that I could no more interfere in one case than in the other, in short that my feeling for the Archbishop was due to my respect for him as a useful and honorable man, just such a feeling I had had for Phillips Brooks and for many other clergymen, of various denominations; but that I could not as President in any way try to help any clergyman, of any denomination, to high rank in that denomination." On December 27th, 1903 I again wrote to Bellamy enclosing an article which showed he had been talking about my interest in Archbishop Ireland; and stating that such conduct on his part was mischievous, and I continued as follows: "I have the heartiest admiration for Archbishop Ireland. I should be delighted to see him made Cardinal just as I was delighted to see Lawrence made the Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts — just as I have been delighted at various Methodist friends of mine who have been made Bishops, but as President it is none of my business to interfere for or against the advancement of any

man in the Church, and as it is impossible for me to differentiate what I say in my individual capacity from what I say as President—at least in the popular mind, and apparently also in the Roman mind, I must request you not to quote me in any way or shape hereafter.”

On December 30th by which time I had found out that Bellamy had written what I considered an entirely improper letter to Senator Hanna about the dismissal of Hurst, I again wrote him, and this time included the following paragraphs: “I know, my dear Bellamy, that you have not intended to do anything disloyal or improper but surely on thinking over the matter you will see that there would be but one possible construction to be put upon such a letter from you. Think of the effect if your letter were made public.” “Let me repeat to you that, in reference to matters affecting the Catholic Church, events have conclusively shown that while you are Ambassador you must keep absolutely clear of any deed or word in Rome or elsewhere, which would seem to differentiate your position from that of other ambassadors. The mere fact of the report in the newspapers about your calling at the Vatican has had a very unfortunate effect.

“I dare say you did not call. You may merely have seen some Cardinal privately, but the unpleasant talk over the affair emphasizes the need of extreme circumspection while you are in your present position. While I am President and you are Ambassador neither of us in his public relations is to act as Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile; and we have to be careful, not merely to do what is right, but so to carry ourselves as to show that we are doing what is right. I shall ask you not to quote me to any person in any shape or way in connection with any affair of the Catholic Church and yourself not to take action of any kind which will give ground for the belief that you as an American Ambassador are striving to interfere in the affairs of the Church.”

Surely these letters of mine should have been enough warning to both Bellamy and you. Apparently, you have quoted isolated sentences from my letters, to convince

some people that I am doing just exactly what I have again and again in writing stated explicitly that I would not and could not do.

This being so, I must ask you to return to me all of my letters in which I have spoken on any of these ecclesiastical subjects. If I were in a private position, I should not have the least objection to your keeping them. But as I have apparently been totally unable, even by the language I have quoted above as used in my letters to Bellamy two years ago, to make you understand my position as President in these matters I feel that my letters should be returned to me.

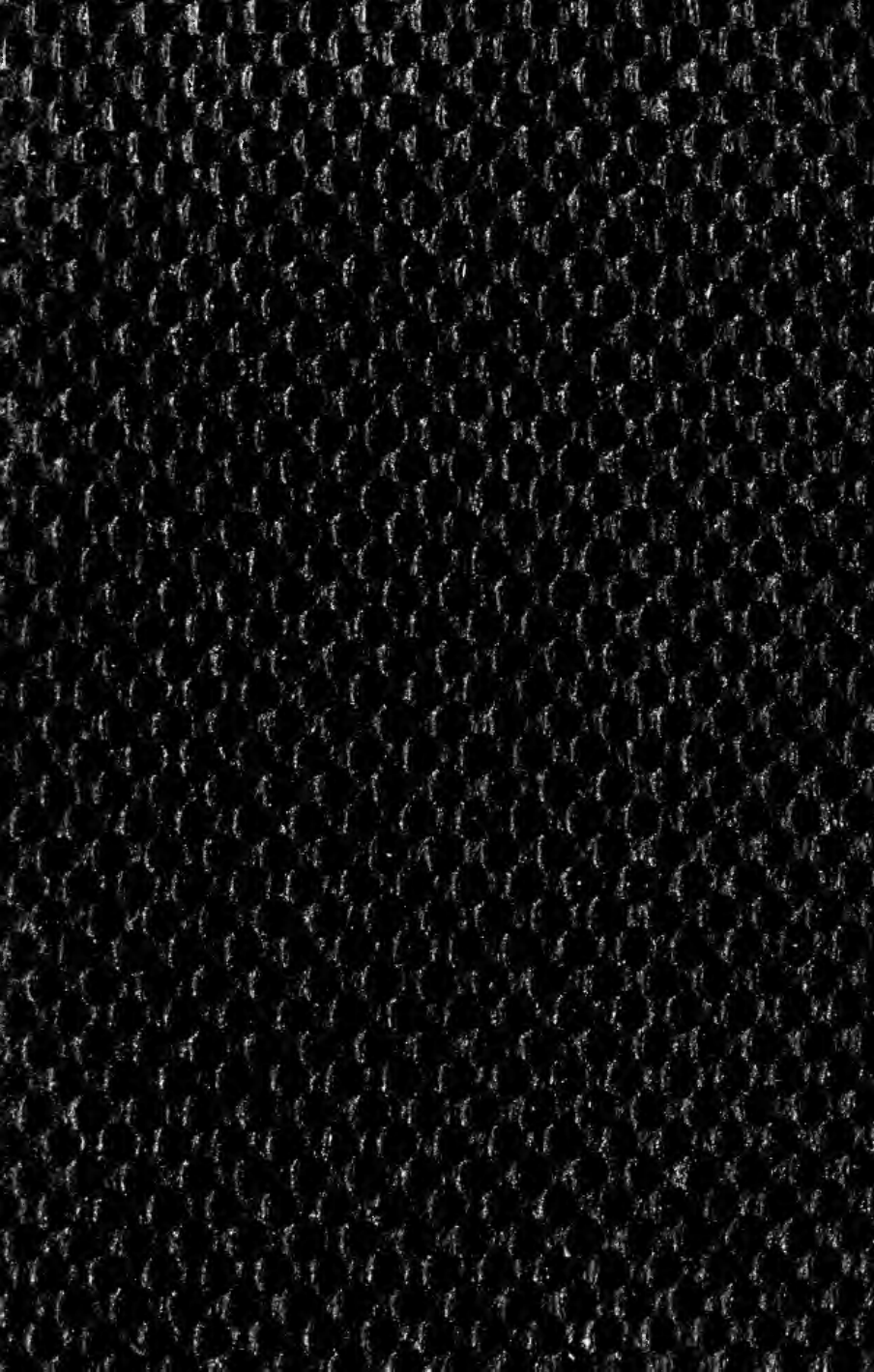
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